





CONSTITUTIONAL FICTIONS AND POLITICAL SHAMS.

The speech of the head of the Executive, at the beginning of a parliamentary session, is in certain senses a constitutional fiction, in others a constitutional reality. It is a fiction, inasmuch as it purports to be the composition, and to convey the personal sentiments, of her Majesty, or of her Majesty's representative; whereas, in fact, both for its composition and its sentiments, the Crown, but the advisers of the Crown, are held to be responsible; the one being in general the work of Ministers or their subordinates, the latter the collective result of ministerial deliberations. It is a reality, as emanating from the lips of an individual endowed with the dignity and privileges of an estate of the realm, and as foreshadowing his concurrence in a line of policy and legislation, sanctioned or suggested by the political leaders of the people, which these leaders pledge themselves to adopt, and which the people have a right to expect, as a consideration for their high position, to carry into early operation. The tendency, no doubt, under responsible Government in this colony, to aggrandise its fictitious and unreal character—to degrade it to an empty and unmeaning form—to pervert it to purposes of deception or evasion—in short, to transform a constitutional fiction into a political sham. Session after session has witnessed the substance and the spirit of successive opening speeches dwindle away or evaporate—has seen their significance grow with every fresh occasion "small by degrees and beautifully less" waxing from extravagant promises to grandiloquent obscurity; and from grandiloquent obscurity gradually waning away to vulgar or harmless insipidity. In the speech delivered last Tuesday by His Excellency Sir John Young, we seem to have reached another—perhaps even a final stage. Mr. Cowper and his colleagues may even congratulate themselves on having achieved a vacuum, which many have long sought in vain, and many have pronounced impossible. Perhaps, under all the circumstances, minute criticism of such a document might be captious or severe—perhaps even unfair. The utmost extremity of bathos, or of no-meaning, may possibly be extenuated, if not justified, upon the ground of its being no more than a step or two in advance of a previous, and apparently inevitable, tendency in the same direction. Not only must a Governor's speech be made for the occasion, but it must be made to suit a parliamentary and public taste, vitiated by long habitation to inferior food. The plea of Ministerial necessity, however little obvious or intelligible to the world at large, are generally conclusive enough to the apprehensions of Ministers themselves, who, moreover, so long as they retain in office, must be presumed sufficient, if not the best, judges of their own necessity. Nor can any proceeding with justice pronounced a sham, or characterised as deceptive, which the chief actors therein themselves treat as pure fiction, and avowedly divest of meaning or significance. In the late debate on the address Mr. Cowper, with an honourable though certainly unusual candour, expressly told the Assembly that Ministers, tired of making promises through the Governor's speech which they found themselves afterwards unable to perform, had therefore, on the present occasion, refrained from making the speech a vehicle of Ministerial promises. Hon. members, Mr. Cowper intimated, must in future gather the policy and intentions of Ministers, not from the Governor's speech, but from the personal utterances and explanations of his Excellency's advisers in either House of Parliament. This doctrine, of course, reduces the speech to an absolute nullity. After this it is difficult to conceive why so empty a ceremony should be retained at all.

There is, however, an objection to Mr. Cowper's new theory, which has a special application to Mr. Cowper himself, if not to some of his colleagues. How are members of Parliament—how are the public—to extract the public policy of the Cabinet, from the parliamentary utterances of a Minister like Mr. Cowper, whose fortune or misfortune appears to be, that he is constantly misunderstood, and constantly misinterpreted? Should the conspiracy of the Press against the Premier continue, what records of his words or intentions remains to be relied on? This objection has been anticipated, and happily obviated by Mr. Cowper with his usual tact and foresight. "Do not withdraw your confidence," says the hon. gentleman to the House, "but wait for the result." In short, the end of the session will determine not only the character of the Ministerial policy, but whether Ministers have a policy at all. Can anything possibly be more satisfactory?

Whatever may be thought of the speech, perhaps, after the display upon Tuesday evening, the public will not greatly regret the loss of the Address, and its accompanying debate. Shams are apt to spread. The spirit of unreality is evidently contagious. Many persons may not be aware how faithfully the characteristics of the speech are reflected or copied in its collateral incidents. It has been, for some time, the practice for Ministers, who, as already shown, compose the speech, also to compose the Address of the Assembly in reply. Two new members are then selected, and, in general, selected without difficulty, whose vanity is tickled by the preference, and by the prospect of maiden speeches to an amiably disposed audience, upon a variety of subjects, on all or some of which the neophytes in question, are themselves supposed to have thought, or to be capable of delivering, somewhat calculated to produce an impression in their favour.

The Address agreed to on Tuesday, by the Assembly, was quite in keeping—indeed, more than usually, a literal copy of the speech in sentiment and expression. But as if all this were not enough, the proposer expressly and in strong terms—the second by implication—commented on the omission from the Address of certain subjects of very great importance, on which the public expect, and have a right to, information. Why did not these hon. gentlemen, before they produced to the House the Address which they were appointed to prepare, remedy the errors thus complained of? Is it not that they felt themselves mere actors in a farce which neither meant nor was meant to mean any thing? All the remonstrances of Messrs. Hoskins and Allen—all the bluster of Mr. Buchanan about the life nominations to the Upper House—were equally futile and ineffectual. What have these gentlemen done—what are they likely to do—to give practical effect to their censures? Either they stand in a hopeless minority, or holding the strong opinions they profess, they have failed in a duty. But of course a fictitious or affected opposition is simply consistent with the whole proceeding. The two first-named gentlemen cannot fairly be accused of partizanship, or of insincerity. But Mr.

Buchanan is a strong supporter of the present "liberal Government." Was his speech a part of the Ministerial programme, or was it merely intended to serve as a matter of patriotic reference, when next an appeal shall be made to the "liberalism" of the electors of Morepet?

INFANDUS.

THE AMERICANS IN PARIS.

A most important meeting of American citizens took place on Wednesday, 29th May, at noon, in the great hall of the Hotel du Louvre, very nearly two hundred persons being present. On entering the room one could have imagined that the reunion was for a purely festive purpose, as three tables loaded with plate, cut-glass, flowers, and other objects recreative to the eye, ran down the whole length of the immense room. The intention was to breakfast pleasantly first, and then to express sentiments and pass resolutions on the secession which has so unfortunately arisen in the United States. At the end of the room floated the French flag over a bust of the Emperor, and on either side of the United States, displaying its well-known Stars and Stripes. When all the company were seated, as a great number of young and elegantly dressed women were present, the company was most striking. An excellent breakfast having been duly honoured,

Dr. Thomas W. Evans rose and proposed that the office of President of the day should be filled by Mr. Elliot C. Cowdin, of New York.

The motion having been passed by acclamation. Mr. Cowdin took the chair, and after the applause which greeted his appearance had subsided rose and said:—Fellow-countrymen, ladies, and gentlemen,—Let me thank you most heartily for the honour you have done me in calling upon me to preside on this occasion. Forgetting all considerations of interest, of party, and of section, we meet as Americans, citizens of the United States, desiring no higher appellation. Granting, as I must, that the time for speech-making has passed and the time for action has come, it is well, nevertheless, that we have met together to-day to listen to words of wisdom from our illustrious countrymen, (Applause.) I bid a cordial welcome. (Applause.) This large and distinguished assemblage, here in this great capital, far from our native land, is a happy augury of the deep interest entertained by all, in sustaining the Government in its determination to maintain the constitution, the laws, and the liberties of our common country. Our national union, the result of the world's progress, was not formed for ourselves alone, but for the whole family of man. He, therefore, who by word or deed does aught towards destroying that union is not only a traitor to his country, but an enemy to his race. (Cheers.) The Carthaginian general brought his child to the altar to take an oath of ceaseless vengeance against the enemies of his country. Bours a higher, a nobler, a holier duty,—to declare our undying attachment to the great principles of liberty and justice upon which our Government was founded, and if need be, in the spirit of our fathers, to pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour to uphold and defend them. (Cheers.) It was a remark of the illustrious Washington (whose very grave is desecrated) "that the value of liberty was enhanced in our estimation by the difficulty of its attainment; and the worth of character appreciated by the trial of adversity." So will it ever be; and when this conflict is over, the Union will stand forth purged and purified, the wonder and admiration of the world. (Applause.) Nay, more, the great characters which the exigencies will call forth are destined to be recorded upon the pages of history as among the brightest heroes of the nineteenth century. (Hear, hear.) The struggle we have entered upon is a momentous one. The rebels are bold, daring, desperate—determined to rule or ruin, deeming with Satan, that it is "Better to reign in hell than serve in Heaven." But, my countrymen, be not dismayed. Relying upon the justice of our cause, the unanimity of the people, and the protection of a righteous God, we have nothing to fear. (Applause.) Traitors have inaugurated war to establish tyranny, and can we shrink from it in defence of liberty? They have sown the wind—they shall reap the whirlwind. Whatever is necessary, either of money or of men, is at our command; 20,000,000 of people are aroused in behalf of this sacred cause—the protection of our common parent—our beloved country, at whose very vitals treason is aiming its deadly thrusts. Already the decree has gone forth, "Let freedom's blow, as it must be terrible, be therefore quick, hard, decisive." Let there be no cessation of war; no halting at the capital, nor at Richmond, nor at Charleston, nor at Montgomery, nor anywhere; let freedom's troops all have replanted freedom's standard, and stripes on every arsenal and every fort and every edifice from which a sacrilegious and infuriated mob has hauled them down. (Hear, hear.) In such a struggle there may be danger; but, on the one hand, there is danger accompanied with lasting honour and inevitable success, and, on the other, there is danger with indelible shame and utter destruction. It is said that Lord Byron, when a boy, prevented his comrades from demolishing his schoolroom by showing them their father's names on the walls. Shall we be less wise, less grateful than schoolboys? Shall we hesitate to preserve and defend the Temple of Freedom, reared by our fathers, upon the walls of which are inscribed the names of Washington and Adams, Jefferson and Franklin, Madison and Clay, Henry and Otis, Pinckney and Hamilton. (Loud cheers.) Replant the banner of the National Union! Replace the banner of freedom with the black flag of piracy! Break up our Federal Government! Trample under foot the countless blessings which our fathers purchased for us at so dear a rate and with so much immortal honour and glory! It cannot, it must not, it shall not be. Let all loyal citizens, wherever found, join hand and heart in the solemn pledge to uphold and defend the flag of our Union now and for ever. Let there be no faltering in our ranks—no swerving from duty, no compromise of principle. Thus shall we speedily resume our onward march of true glory—the glory of knowledge and wisdom, of truth and justice, of union and liberty. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Major Seliver, of California, proposed that the following gentlemen should be named as Vice-Presidents:—Messrs. John J. Ridgway, Francis Warden, Woodbury Langdon, Dr. Thomas William Evans, W. K. Strong, James W. Tucker, George B. English, Henry Woods, George R. Russell, F. A. K. F. Cooper, B. G. Wainwright, and Edward Brooks. Also that Messrs. T. Wallis Evans and Auguste Depeyster should be requested to act as secretaries.

These nominations were accorded to unanimously. Mr. Tucker, on behalf of the Committee of Arrangement, proposed the following resolutions:—Whereas, in the year of our Lord 1787, the "people of the United States," after having secured their independence by a long and bloody war, did "ordain and establish the Constitution of the United States in order to form a more perfect Union, to establish justice, to promote general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty" to themselves and to their children; and Whereas, the people of the several States, in adopting said Constitution, made it, and the laws of Congress enacted in pursuance of it, the supreme law of the land, and thereby transferred the essential powers of sovereignty from the States to the general Government; and Whereas, the numerous States have since been admitted into the Union by Act of Congress, and have thus received all the State authority which they possess from the general Government; and Whereas, for a period of nearly seventy-five years, the people of all the States and the State Governments themselves have enjoyed peace, prosperity, and the undisturbed exercise of all personal and civil rights, at home and abroad, under the protection of the Government of the United States, which is not even charged by its enemies with ever having enacted laws in violation of the Constitution or of the rights of any State or citizen; and Whereas, a number of persons in several of the States have conspired to overthrow this benign Constitution, and have succeeded in exciting rebellion and plunging the said States into a revolution, against the Government, without, however, submitting their so-called acts of secession to the vote of the people of their own States; and Whereas, the Government of the United States, in the exercise of its rightful authority, has declared its purpose to maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to vindicate the laws, and has called upon the people to support it in so doing; Resolved,—That in the maintenance of the Government and Union, as handed down by our fathers, one and indivisible, are involved not merely the fate of the American people in the South as well as in the North, but also the hopes of our progress, and Christian civilisation throughout the world; Resolved,—That the Government and people of the United States would be false to the highest political trust ever placed by any State, but to put down, were they to allow the "powerful and perpetual Union," which the Constitution was ordained to establish, to be degraded into a mere voluntary society of States, each to be governed by its own despotic and anarchical, the sure precursor of a military despotism; Resolved,—That the declaration of the American Government, that it has not, does not, and will not maintain "the least idea of suffering a dissolution of the Union to take place in any way whatever," deserves the cordial approval of all good citizens, and that the demands of the Government for the men and means of suppressing the rebellion, as well as of home, overlooking all past differences of political opinions, to aid by their efforts, their prayers, and their money, the constituted authorities of the country in upholding the Constitution and the Union, and in carrying on vigorously the war which has been forced upon them by the forces of anarchy and of misgovernment; Resolved,—That a copy of these resolutions, as embodying the sentiment of the large body of Americans in the city of Paris, be forwarded to the President of the United States; Loud cheering greeted the resolutions thus proposed, and they were adopted with acclamation.

The Hon. W. L. Dayton, American Minister at the Court of the Tuileries, next rose, and was received with loud applause. He spoke as follows:—My President, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I feel myself, though far removed from my own country, surrounded by the faces of American citizens, and subject to the rules and conventionalities of American social life, among which is the necessity of a speech whenever called for. It is needless, my friends, to deny that our country has fallen upon evil times; that much of its prestige abroad is lost; that the present age, and that our self-love is rebuked and our pride is humiliated not by the actions of others, but by the misconduct of portions of our own countrymen. Nations, like individuals, are sometimes spoiled by prosperity. (Hear, hear.) It does not follow as a logical sequence that wherever there is dissension in a country its resources of strength, and its power of Government. In our case it is the reverse, the very opposite. It seems to come from the plethora of its abundance and prosperity. It is the wanton outbreak of a restless and excitable people who complain substantially of nothing. We who know the condition of our country and the value of its institutions, though chastened in pride and rebuked in feeling, cannot forget these truths. (Hear, hear.) You have come together on this occasion to give expression to your feelings of attachment and respect for the laws and Constitution of your country. It is in good time. Your friends there are new testing the question if you have a country, for a country without a government is no country. It is a habitation without a name—a *locus in quo* for a miserable existence. The land cannot respect, and least of all, England, that we shall disgrace our Saxon lineage by permitting a government which has accomplished so much for humanity within so brief a space to go out without a struggle, and if need be, such a struggle as the world has not seen. Our Union cost much, and it is worth all and more than its cost. (Loud cheers.) This is no time or place for laboured argument. It is enough to say, though that may assume the point in dispute, that the United States is no Confederation. It ceased to be such in 1787, when its present Constitution was formed. It is no compact between States to be broken with cause or without cause, at the option of any; but it is a nation, treated with as such, recognised as such by every civilized Power on the face of the earth; and whoever heard of secession as applied to a nation? (Cheers.) We know of rebellion and of revolution, and we recognise them as a right under certain circumstances. But what publicist, what writer upon international law, has ever told us when and where the right of secession begins and ends? The word, as applied to the existing state of things in our country, is a delusion. The facts show it a wicked, causeless rebellion. Nothing more, nothing less. (Tremendous applause.) We are sometimes asked how this civil war will end. We cannot fix the times or seasons of its termination, but we think we can see the end. The relative strength of the two sections of the country foretells the future of the controversy. We have been told that "the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong," but this, I think, in temporal matters, at least, is the exception, not the rule. The delay and forbearance of the Government have led some minds to doubt its power, but this was not the quiet of weakness and timidity, but rather of a conscious strength. This delay, too, was superinduced by the fact that the masses of the people, North and West, never believed that the men of the South would bring the matter to the dreadful issue of civil war. They could not realise the fact that any considerable portion of our people could wilfully throw off their allegiance to the Federal Government, which

they had only known, as we thought, by its blessings. But the cannon at Fort Sumter roused them, like the blast of a bugle. (Applause.) If they were slow to understand, slow to realise the truth of their position, they were quick to meet it. The instant terrible uprising of at least 20,000,000 people, as if by a single impulse, was sublime. The history of the world, ancient or modern, has nothing more so. And I desire to say now that, from the days of our revolution to the present hour, the country has never been stronger than at the present moment—never more able to meet any contingency which may arise from foreign or domestic war. The danger is, if this rebellion continue, that the whole country, as one man by a common impulse, will become a military Power rather than an agricultural and commercial people. But in the meantime we ask, not in the spirit of defiance, but as matter of right, that the outside world will leave us alone. We do not ignore the sympathy of men or of nations who think well of us and of our principles; and I thank God I have found such during my brief residence in Europe—but for those who distrust us, who doubt our powers of self-government, who look upon the present condition of things in the United States with an ill-concealed joy—if there be such—I say, again, leave us alone, hands off—rebellion is not revolution, and secession, as a political principle, is something unknown. It is to be made good only by the strong arm of that power which avows it as a political right. (Hear, hear.) It will be no matter of surprise in view of my past professional life, that my attention should have been early called to such laws of France as may bear upon our rights. The commercial world has been much agitated by the threatened issue of letters of marque and reprisal by the so-called Confederate Government of the South. I have looked into the French laws as respects the rights of these vessels, and, if I understand them aright—and I desire to speak with great diffidence, and subject to correction, in reference to the laws of a foreign country—(loud applause)—France will I think leave us alone in virtue of her own laws. Those laws hold, I think,—1, that a captain who takes the command of a foreign privateer is guilty of a piratical act; 2, that the French citizen who shall enlist in a foreign service without the authority of the Emperor loses all his rights as a French citizen; 3, that no prizes of a privateer can stay in a French port over twenty-four hours, unless detained by tempest; and that, as a consequence, 4, there can be no condemnation of prizes in a French port by Courts of Admiralty in our Southern States. (Loud cheers.) If I am correct in these views of the laws of France, there will be little chance of trouble and few points of conflict between the Government of France and our own. I sincerely hope that we may have trouble nowhere outside the limits of our own country. (Loud continued cheering.)

The Hon. C. M. Clay, American Minister to the Court of St. Petersburg, next addressed the meeting in the following terms:—Gentlemen, I had desired to go where my Government had ordered me without entering upon political questions. It was with no ordinary feelings that, landing at Calais, I first set foot upon this land of our ancient ally and steadfast friend, who so gallantly aided us in the achieving our independence and founding a great nation. (Applause.) As an agriculturist I was interested in the thorough culture of the soil, and as a lover of nature I was enchanted with the large vista over green fields, hill, and dale, intercepted by occasional dense flocks of more than twenty wild geese. I had imagined of "La Belle France." But what shall I say of Paris?—her spacious and elegant streets, her grand old classic structures, her beautiful parks, her galleries of art—the fine and the useful—her monuments of dramatic history, and, above all, her development of progress and civilization? For I must say that I have not seen a beggar, a ragged man, or a drunkard in France. (Hear, hear.) A manly sympathy with the cause of liberty in '76 has not, by the eternal laws, been lost upon her people. Does any man venture to say that the French of to-day have paid more than in treasure and blood for the liberties they now enjoy, which this great people and the great chief of their choice equally recognise? (Loud cheers.) The political empiry only is impatient—waiting upon nature, and following upon the fading footprints of the ages—the world-wide statesman and philanthropist withhold the hand of rash propaganda. With hopeful aspirations for the future—with all my heart, I say, "Vive la France, vive l'Amerique!" (Applause.) Yes, gentlemen, my country shall live. She sacrifices property, and life, and kindred to justice. She suffers all things for the whole race—not forgetting the language of Lafayette and all the "defence of the rights of human nature." Yes, our Union, our Constitution, and our liberties shall live. That is why I have said elsewhere, this rebellion shall go down. "Cotton is king!" No; "Grass is king," for the United States produce more dollars worth of grass than cotton. Let the South send 400,000,000 dollars worth of cotton to the nations; if she pays it out, all out for clothes and food, and mules and cotton-gins, and farming utensils, what does it matter? She finds herself at the end of the year indebted in advance of her income. Her banks are exhausted of their coin to pay for food, her notes are not redeemed, her currency ceases to circulate, her stocks are nothing, her credit is gone. Does the Times understand me? Therefore I say, of course, we can conquer her. I am accused of threatening England. I am not in the habit of casting about me to see how I can make truth most palatable. Let those who stand in the way of truth look out. (Hear, hear.) If England, after all she has said against slavery, shall draw her sword in its defence, then I say, great as she is, she "shall perish by the sword." For then not only France, but all the world shall cry out "Perfidie Albion!" When she mingles the red crosses of the Union Jack with the piratical black flag of the "Confederate States of America"—will not just as certainly the Tricolor and the Stars and Stripes float once more in fraternal folds. (Hear, hear.) Can France forget what has doggedly hedged in all the fields of her glory? Can Napoleon forget St. Helena? Will he, at her bidding, turn his back upon the East? Shall the "Petrole de Syrie" be heard no more in France for fear? Russia strengthens herself by giving up slave labour for the omnipotent powers of nature; which by steam, and electricity, and water, and the mechanical forces share with man the creative omnipotence. Shall England cross half the globe to check the Eastern march of her new-born civilisation? I have spoken to England—not as an enemy, but a friend. For her own sake, I would have her be true to herself. If England would preserve cotton for her millions of operatives, let her join in putting down the rebellion. Her interference in defence of the rebels of the South will force

us to do that which would be a calamity to us as well as to them—at a blow to destroy slavery for ever. The interest of England and France lie in the same direction—in the preservation of the Union, and the making successful rebellion impossible. (Loud applause.) Especially does France find safety in our unity and prosperity—for between us there is no antagonism whatever. We want her silks, her brandies, her wines, her porcelain, her cloths, her finer cottons; her thousand articles of unequalled taste. She wants our tobacco, our masts, our grains, and all that; while she will not envy us the prosperity of our ruder manufactures, which put money in our pockets, and make us able to purchase all she has to sell us. Let England, and France, and Russia, and Spain, and Mexico, and all the nations join with us—the Union—it shall be preserved. (Tremendous cheering.) Planting myself upon the broad principles of natural law, which it is the glory of Lord Chatham to introduce into modern diplomacy, I most heartily respond to your resolutions; I join the old Romans in the purity of my patriotism; of our nationality, my undying aspiration is "Ete perpetua," of slavery "Delenda est Carthago." (Long continued cheers.)

The President then said that a telegraphic despatch had been received, giving news from the United States to the 15th, which could not fail to interest the meeting. (A gentleman near then read the despatch in question, which was loudly cheered.) The Hon. A. Burlingame, American Minister to the Court of Vienna, next rose and spoke as follows:—My President, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I respond to your call with all my heart in the spirit of that patriotism which gleams in every eye and swells in every breast. I hold it fit that the children of the land of Washington should, in the land of Lafayette, renew their vows to the great principles for which those men struggled. (Applause.) And we accordingly do here now renew them, and swear by the ever-living God that we will sustain that great Government which resulted from their blended efforts, and breathe the exultant hope that, like their holy memories, it will endure for ever. (Applause.) It seems to me, since I have been here, that I have received the impression—I cannot tell whence or why—certainly not from anything I have read or heard, surely not from anything derived from the reticent ruler of this gallant people—that the feeling which swayed the French and our fathers still survives. It seems to me that they do not mock at us in our supposed calamity, that they do not misrepresent us in their Press: that their statesmen do not compare us to Turks and our enemies to Greeks (laughter); that they do not speak of "beligerent rights" in such a way as to leave us to infer that they would make merchandise of our misfortunes, and open all their ports to the pirates' prize. (Applause.) I make not these distant allusions to deepen your regards on the one hand, or to rouse your resentment against a kindred people on the other. I sense not the Saxon heart. (Dr. McClintock: "That is right.") My friend says that is right; yes, I know the heart of old England is sound. But, as an American, I cannot be indifferent to the language of a portion of the English Press, nor to the language of a few of England's statesmen. I know, as my friend Mr. Clay has said, that we have derived our language, literature, and laws from her. No man needs lower than I to her majestic antecedents, but I must be permitted to regret the attitude in which she has been placed by those who assume to give expression to her sentiments. This I will say—ever mindful of the ties of consanguinity which others seem to have forgotten—that when a generous people has blotted from its memory the recent recollections of two wars, it is neither kind nor wise to rouse them again with tenfold rancour. (Applause.) And this I will further say, that, whoever is for or against us, we will, in the language of our distinguished friend Mr. Dayton, "settle our own affairs in our own way." We will put down rebellion on our own soil, and shall reserve a quick hand and a dauntless heart for whoever, for whatever cause, shall be found in complicity with the most causeless revolt that ever lifted its audacious hand against a noble government and a generous civilisation. (Continued applause.) I do not quarrel with men's opinions—I disdain to plead with those who are intentionally against us, but I would be glad to bring those whose good opinion, for my country's sake, I covet, into views touching our affairs identical with my own, those who have been and still are our friends. I have met such since I have been here, who have fallen into the fatal fallacy of Calhoun, and believe that our government is a compact between States, and that as these did accede to it they have, therefore, a right to secede from it. But in our theory of government, Wales would have as much right to secede from England, and Normandy from France, as South Carolina from the United States. (Hear, hear.) Ours is not a compact or league in that sense—all that went down with the Confederation—but it is a government of the people, by the people, for the people, and is so declared to be on the very frontlets of that instrument itself; there, glittering like a star, is the language—"We, the people, do ordain and establish this Constitution," and again it is declared that this constitution, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land. It is a Government thus established, a Government resting on the good will of the people—that will flowing forth into practical Government through the forms of the organic law to which they have assented—a government around which cluster so many memories, and which to us is the noblest that ever shed its blessings on mortal men. (Applause.) It is such a Government that a few traitors, because they have been outwitted, would overthrow, and would establish in its place one born of their own caprice, resting it not on the will of the people, but on slavery as its corner-stone. The contest is not between two parties equally divided, as some suppose it to be, for political power, but it is a great struggle for principles, for the integrity of our society and government, between the highest civilisation on one hand, and the blackest barbarism on the other. (Applause.) It is not a contest between sections on the one side, as has been stated, are twenty millions crystallised into one great fighting mass, and in sympathy with these are millions in the South who are in the thrall of a conspiracy which has taken them by surprise. And against this are a few daring men, who struggling against the holiest feelings of the human heart, against a Government which they have never felt but in the blessings it conferred, lead on the fanatical and the ignorant, made so by the bad system they would establish; men whose strength was in the political power they derived from slavery as a subtle element in the Government, but now weak in the quality and force on which they rely, without men, without money, without credit, dependant for the food they eat and the clothing they wear on those they assail, without a ship, without a sailor, who cannot

make a sword or a musket, who have no flag which a Pelee Islander ought to respect; and these men hurl themselves against the prejudices and patriotism, and memories, and hopes, and numbers, and civilisation of the American people. (Warm applause.) In the language of Mr. Clay, just used, and I repeat it with emphasis, "of course they must fail." They shall fail, and their memories rot! (Cheers.) I am sorry for the innocent, who must suffer for their guilt. The people were merciful and the Government forbearing. It was our glory that our whole history no traitor's blood was on the hands of the Government. We wished no war, no shedding of fraternal blood. It was not until fortress after fortress was taken, outrage after outrage committed, hospitals sacked, and the poor and the sick turned out into desolate world, and a fort with its famishing garrison reduced, that the people sprung to arms for the Government they loved; and Sir, as you (Mr. Dayton) have said, there has not been, in ancient or modern times, such a rising of the people. On every hill they rose; and in every valley and every mountain pass formed armies which would gladden the eye of any Napoleon, and are moving with irresistible force to crush the rebellion. (Applause.) And Sir, without using the language of menace, if there is anybody who wishes well to society and the human race, let him see to it that he is not brought within the sphere of the excitement of this roused nationality and haughty patriotism. (Applause.) But I must bring these remarks to a close. I would that our struggling brothers at home could hear this day our words of lofty cheer, and know how the American heart in this far land throbs true to them, and the cause for which they struggle. We send them with our blessings over the sea; but, what is better, we send with them one known to them, known to us, known to the two hemispheres, and one who, in this warlike land of his ancestors, heard the call of his mother (for he is, indeed, a child of the Republic), and, casting from him the urgent claims of his private affairs, almost without warning and notice, determined to fly to the defence of the flag he had done so much to exalt. We say to him that he will be welcomed on the western shore by 1,400,000 men, who, but yesterday, hailed his name as a symbol of their faith, and by a countless host who then defeated our hopes with, if possible, a still warmer enthusiasm—welcomed on the Atlantic slope, and on the Pacific slope, which his valour won for us, and in the Rocky Mountains, from whose loftiest summit he was the first to unfurl the beautiful banner of his country, in the beams of the setting sun. (Applause.) We breathe our benison upon him. We know what will follow where he goes before, for "born and nursed in danger's path, he's tried as her word." We know his future will be as bright as his past, and that he will enjoy a soldier's triumph or the sweet tranquillity of an honoured soldier's grave. And now, all hail, Fremont, and farewell! (Tremendous acclamations, which were followed by three cheers for Colonel Fremont.)

Colonel J. C. Fremont next rose and said,—My President, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I am deeply sensible to the warm and flattering expression of confidence and regard with which I have just been honoured, and still more deeply sensible to your kind approval of them. They are very grateful to me, and I thank you very sincerely. But you will be very sure that I do not receive them as due to myself; I am conscious that I owe them to the patriotic friendship and to that sort of attachment which a soldier always feels for the banner under which he has fought. (Hear.) To him (Mr. Burlingame), and the other friends around me who have spoken to-day, I represent the standard on which old watchwords were inscribed. It is themselves who were the leaders, themselves who bore with you the heat of the day, and who have won their battle gloriously. And they have come among us here, with their habitual eloquence, to convey to our true-hearted countrymen at home the assurance of our unaltered admiration of the generous loyalty with which they rallied to its call. (Cheers.) A few days back our honoured flag was trailing in the dust at the foot of an insolent foe; at present its stars are refulgent from a thousand heights, swarming with brave hearts and strong arms in its defence. (Applause.) We drink to them to-day, our brave and loyal countrymen. (Renewed cheers.) Faithfully, too, have our scattered people responded to them, from Italy, from England, and from France. Well have they shown they, too, can cross the seas and change their climes, and never change their hearts. (Loud cheers.) I am glad that a happy chance has brought me to participate with you here on this occasion. Here in this splendid capital of a great nation, where near by us the same tombstone records the blended names of Washington and Lafayette, I feel that I breathe a sympathetic air. (Hear, hear.) France is progress, and I am happy to believe that here we shall not see a people false to their traditional policy. (Loud applause.) From here we shall see no strong hand stretched out to arrest the march of civilisation, and aid in throwing back a continent into barbarism. We expect nowhere active co-operation, but to look for the sympathy which the world gives to a good cause. We are willing to work out our good destiny, and make our own history. Before this struggle closes the world will recognise that enlightened liberty is self-sustaining, and that a people who have once fully enjoyed its blessings will never consent to part with them. We have deprecated this war, fratricidal and abominable; most gladly would we welcome back our people if they would return to their allegiance. We would bury, deep as the ocean, the hasty anger which their partial conduct provoked. But they must return at once to their allegiance. We shall not permit them to dishonour our flag and deprecate our sacred graves. They cannot be permitted to dismember our country and destroy our nationality. (Hear, hear.) We shall maintain these in their fullest integrity, in the face of every evil and at every hazard. Above every consideration is our country—one and indivisible—(loud acclamations)—now and for ever, and so we will maintain it. We will do our duty loyally, and we will make no compromise with treason, and no surrender to rebellion. (Long continued cheering.)

The Hon. Mr. Haldeman, American Minister to the Court of Stockholm, was next called on, but merely spoke a few well-judged sentences, thanking the meeting for receiving him kindly, and declaring at the same time that he considered it unnecessary to add anything to sentiments so well expressed by the able speakers who had preceded him.

The following gentlemen spoke in succession, and were much applauded:—Dr. McClintock, Captain Symmes, the Rev. C. L. Thayer, the Rev. M. Lamson, Mr. W. K. Strong, and Major Seliver.



entering into the war against the French Revolution-  
 ists is a great point among us. Some are

[illegible]







of its late. This is the great object of the expedition  
under your command.

[illegible]



"Pardon, Madame, pardon; but, in truth, it is possible that we can at this time be in fault, and one of us can even read his own name, much worse."

them to a special exigency. That saw having entrusted to the Christian Church so to sharpen adaptation to the times that it may be always fitted to go through the material on which we work. — *The Rev. Newman Hall.*

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